/49 cont./

789 To this category belong among the Pemón Indians the practice
[754] of injuring an enemy by charming his tracks; carrying water in
[513] the mouth when planting cane and invoking the poppy so that
[224] sleep will come to children; hunters making remedies with
[252] leaves similar to the ears of some animal or other so that the
[755] animal may come out to meet them; women pouring honey
[787] into cuts on their jaws so that the chewed kachirí may turn out
[787] sweet for them; believing that eating eggs will bring out boils; believing that tripping over a stone on the path is a presage that we shall meet a traveler who is coming in the opposite direction; interpreting dreams always through similarities, e.g. moriche seeds guáimaro, red kachirí for blood, the piache's song for sickness; and a thousand more which we shall not list
800 for the sake of brevity. About this same matter, Cecil Dampier wrote: "The savage does not pray to God to send him sun or rain: he dances a dance to the sun or he croaks like a frog..., following an association of ideas."

Y. A. Bouyssonie observed that "red ocher makes one think of blood, the condition of life, and therefore is considered to be a sort of medium for conjuring death and for facilitating posthumous existence."[22]

789 The same can be said of the use of annatto or achiote among these Indians against the oradán, maurí, and amariauk.

108. The second principle gives rise to the magical practices which are called contagious and also sympathetic. To
855 this type belong, among the Pemón Indians, the group of prac-
846 tices related to the couvade and the asarakpué, that is, having
789 to do with the birth of children and the death of our relatives. The practices and abstentions with reference to the couvade, which begin from the time of the pairing of the progenitors and continue in minuendo until the children are two or three years old, affect not only the father -- as is generally said in ethnographic treatises, but also the mother, and it is based on the belief that tiredness, sickness, /50/ malevolent influences, etc., of either of the progenitors affect -- and in a higher

Hunting

/82 cont./

224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, cambazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mañoco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
177 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
439 been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[441] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[412] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
[301] they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
[291] cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
287 trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
314 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
411 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
412

*197 P24 241 [114]

Names given by Koch-Grünberg for peppers in Taurepán do not appear to be cognate with these, nor do any of the words given in the comparative vocabularies of Adam or de Goeje.

412. *Tobacco — tamõi. See after next word.

413. *An infusion of tobacco used by piaches — kabai.

Both tamõi and kabai are Carib roots, with curious and interesting changes of meaning in Kamarakoto as compared with other dialects.

tamõi — Kamarakoto "tobacco (plant and leaf)." Taurepán, tamõyen, "tobacco pipe" (for Kamarakoto see No. 202). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) tam-yen, "tobacco pipe." Makuchi — no cognate word recorded; "tobacco pipe" is paipa, from English or Dutch.

kabai — Kamarakoto "tobacco infusion." Taurepán kawai "tobacco." Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) kawai, "tobacco." Makuchi (Williams) kawai "tobacco."

414. Cotton — kateuwe.

● [224] 415. Magical plant — kumi. This plant is rubbed on cuts to ensure success in hunting. Koch-Grünberg cites a kumiˀ among the Taurepánes, also a magical plant, but he calls it a kind of grass, which the Kamarakoto plant is not, and says that it is used against bellyache.

("Caruto," No. 180, is also planted.)

P24 b. Wild.

[193] 416. Tree, plant in general —yɛˀ (in compounds generally somewhat sibilant or occasionally a soft d or d-mouillé, nearly dy). Tree names usually have -yɛˀ as a suffix. Without this suffix the name usually means the fruit or some product of the tree in question.

417. Leaf — yarɛ (y usually markedly sibilant).

418. Root — moiˀ.

419. Palms: Moriche = Mauritia flexuosa — kwai-yɛˀ, gwai-yɛˀ.

420. Corozo, perhaps = Elais sp. ? — mausa-yɛˀ.

421. Spiny corozo, Tucuma, ("corozo de monte," "palo de espinas," = Astrocaryum tucuma (?) — awara-yɛˀ.

422. Cucurito, maripa, inaya, = Maximiliana maripa — maripada-yɛˀ.

423. Cucurito (variety with larger leaves) = Maximiliana regia (?) — abaˀ-yɛˀ.

424. Seje = Oenocarpus sp. — kunwada.

425. Cane ("Cana brava"), perhaps Gynerium sp. — purau-yɛˀ (i.e. "arrow-plant," the stalks being used for arrows).

244 311 134 242 the experiment seemed to be a failure, the soil being too poor to grow a crop. In this vicinity the sabanas are generally on alluvial terraces, dry and sandy or pebbly, while the forests are on rich soil mainly of decomposed igneous rock.

241 To prepare a conuco, the brush and trees are cut down, the brush piled and burned and the trees, which do not entirely burn, left where they fall (see [462] Fig. 13). This work is done entirely by the men, who use steel axes and machetes for it. Planting is also done by the men,[108] but the scanty cultivation and all the harvesting is done by the women. Casave is planted in hills usually roughly alined and other plants scattered around, with the casave or separately, more or less at random (see Fig. 14).

A conuco is ordinarily abandoned after one year although some products, like bananas, continue to be gathered as long as they bear without further attention. For casave and annuals a new patch is cleared every dry season.

[262] Casave is the staff of life and of course occupies the greater part of the conucos. Chile peppers, of which there are many kinds, are also indispensable and bananas, also varied, perhaps come next in importance. The following plants, including a few not used for food, were seen growing in the several conucos examined in Kamarata:

Casave.
Yams, (etc.), Dioscorea, at least three varieties.
Ocumos, Xanthosoma.
Sweet Potatoes.
Bananas, at least six varieties.
Plantains, at least two varieties.
Squash.
Sugar cane.
Papayas.
Watermelons.
Corn (only one variety seen, but two or three said to occur).
Chile peppers, at least six varieties.
Peanuts.
Black beans.
Pupu (see above).
Cotton.
Tobacco.
[224] Kumi (a plant not eaten but rubbed in cuts for luck in hunting).

241 177 All of these plants are rather surely pre-Columbian in this region, and probably also in this tribe, except bananas, plantains, sugar cane, and watermelons. There seems to be room for a slight doubt regarding bananas and plantains. They are generally believed to have been introduced by Europeans, but if so they spread rapidly and far almost at once after the discovery of America, and spread ahead of the actual penetration of the Europeans. Wild

108 [see footnote on p. 319, category 116 - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 125]

24/ relatives, with inedible fruit, seem more probably to be indigenous to America.
177 In any case whenever bananas appeared they are now so ancient here that they
[173] are an integral and truly native feature in Indian life. The Kamarakotos have no idea that they are not native and no legends of a time when they were not known.[109]

24/ Sugar cane is also an old introduction, although probably not so old as
262 bananas. It is hardly an essential food, but is much enjoyed. Watermelons
177 are known by the Indians to have been introduced recently. They also say that squash and beans are recent, although these are native foods and are known to them by purely Carib names. Perhaps they meant only that the particular plants now growing there are from seeds brought in from elsewhere.

24/ Although corn (i. e. maize) is known and eaten, it is not plentiful and is
262 not really a staple. These are casave and not maize Indians.

The other root plants, Dioscorea, Xanthosoma, and Ipomea are abundant and may be ranked next to casave as staples. The true potato, Solanum, is not known, and this region is lower and warmer than any in which it was cultivated in pre-Columbian times.

24/ Although cacao has been supposed to be native to this general part of South America, none was observed and it appears to be unknown to the Kamarakotos. Other noteworthy omissions of plants that are cultivated by allied tribes, for instance in British Guiana, are the several citrus fruits and the avocado ("aguacate"), Persea. The former are introduced plants that have not yet penetrated this far; the latter is a native plant that, for some unknown reason, is rare in this region where it would, nevertheless, almost surely produce well.

[132] Several useful wild plants, like species of Bromelia, Bixa, and Genipa, are sometimes planted but are not commonly cultivated forms.

Animal Foods.

23/ In distinction from plant foods, practically all animal foods are wild.
262 A solitary pig was once introduced into Kamarata (I do not know from where)
[177] but it is now dead and no others have been introduced. The only domestic ani-
[235] mals are dogs, which are not eaten, and chickens, which have recently been
[322] introduced and are not common. At Uruyén, when we were there, all the chickens were roosters — a subject for joking comment by the Indians, who have a keen (if somewhat robust) sense of humor. Some birds, especially small parrots or parakeets and moriche birds, are kept as pets but they are not bred in captivity and are not raised to eat so cannot be called domestic or food animals.

224 The favorite animal food is peccary, especially the larger species called
262 po.inga, and it is the principal goal of the hunter. The other peccary, pakira, is also prized as are the two kinds of deer, waikin and kutsari, the lapa, urana, the acure, akuri, and the tapir, maikuri (see Vocabulary for more exact identification of these animals).*

[* see footnote on p. 319, category 116 - Analyst]
[* see vocabulary on pp. 54-89, category 116 - Analyst]

224 identification of these animals). These are the staple food animals, as nearly
262 as any can so be called. Capybaras, kapi:ba, armadillos, atsi:gamo, merun, and mauraima, and anteaters, waremg, are sometimes eaten but are not so
[261] specifically hunted. Monkeys, carnivores, sloths, opossums, and the small rodents are not regularly hunted or eaten except in times of food scarcity. Some allied Indians, even among the Arekunas, regularly eat monkeys but most of the Kamarakotos expressed distaste for monkey flesh.

In spite of the variety of food mammals available, it seems in fact to be relatively rare to obtain one and their meat, however much enjoyed when obtained, is not a staple. Few mammal bones are seen around the houses and the Indians do not claim to be able to procure such game regularly.[110]

223 Birds are more often procured, but still not regularly. They range from
262 the large okira and karmaiba down to the tiny kamata. The principal sorts eaten will be found in the Vocabulary.[1]

224 Among reptiles and amphibians only the tortoises and the larger lizards,
225 ayamaka, are ordinarily eaten, and these not often. ayamaka-eggs are an
262 eagerly sought delicacy when in season and the eggs of practically all the larger wild birds are also eaten. Most Indians eat crocodilians and the absence of these from the Kamarakoto diet is perhaps due rather to rarity and difficulty of capture than to distaste.

222 Among insects the large ant-like bachacos, kaiba', are eaten as are
262 some larvae found in palm trees, tsiya' and iwo. Other insects may be eaten in times of need but are not regular items of diet. Wild honey, tautsan-yeuku,
[231] is much prized but is not abundant enough to be a staple. I did not hear of any
[237] attempts to domesticate bees. Honey is also used for tattooing and beeswax for fastening blowguns together, coating quivers, etc.

Hunting.

224 Hunting, carried on only by men, is a favorite occupation but probably
[462] not a very productive one. One would anticipate that such Indians would be
[433] skillful hunters and certainly all the men engage in this and have abundant paraphernalia for it and many tales of their prowess, but as far as I could check
[122] the actual performance it is not impressive. For instance we employed successively two men who were agreed to be the best hunters in the tribe, arranged for them to have all their time for this, gave them whatever they wished in the way of ammunition, and offered extra prizes for any unusual success, but one of them did not succeed in getting any game and the other drew blank most days and in a week he got only one animal, an acure, that could be considered a
[262] success from the point of view of pot-hunting. I have already remarked on the
[411] evidence that animal food is more a treat than a regular item of diet. We were also unimpressed by such examples of marksmanship, with their weapons or with ours, as we saw.

110 [see footnote on pp. 319-20, category 116 - Analyst]
1 [see vocabulary on pp. 59-61, category 116 - Analyst]

411
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Fig. 15 — Kamarakoto Bow.
A, the whole bow from the side, unstrung.
B, end showing attachment of bowstring
(to right) and re-enfoscing string (to left).
C, cross section near middle, bowstring to right.

224 ours, as we saw. In short, these are agricultural Indians and their hunting has
433 more the aspect of a diversion than of a gainful occupation.

411 They claimed to have about fifteen shotguns in the tribe, but most of
177 these are probably never fired. We saw two or three, old muzzle-loaders traded in from Brazil, the Guianas, or northern Venezuela. Practically all the Indians of this general region acquired a few guns long ago, before any civilized persons had ever visited them, but powder and shot have always been rare and expensive and the guns are reserved for great occasions or are articles of pure luxury. They have never become every-day weapons.

411 The standard weapon is still the bow and arrow and practically every [867] male over the age of two has a bow of some sort. Very small boys improvise bows out of twigs, much as white children do, and play "Indian." Older boys [824] have bows almost like the men's but smaller. The standard bow (see Fig. 15) is usually made of araguaney wood (urapadę). Tecoma sp., a heavy (heavier than water), fine-grained, dark or reddish brown wood which is carefully smoothed and polished and is beautiful in finish and texture. Its length, often nearly two meters, is greater than the height of the user; one in our collection measures 190 cm., more than 10 cm. longer than the height of the tallest man seen. Its greatest diameter, in the middle, is usually less than 2 centimeters, tapering nearly to a point at both ends. The anteroposterior diameter is greater than the transverse. The front side is grooved for its full length. Fifteen to 20 cm. from each end is a spiral wrapping and between these one or two cords are stretched in the groove, putatively to add to the strength of the bow and help resist the pull. The bowstring is continuous with one of the spiral wrappings, whence it runs up the groove to the nearest end where it is permanently looped and then down the back of the bow to the other end where it is fastened by a loop that is taken off the wood when the bow is not in use. When unstrung the bow is perfectly straight and the string is only enough shorter than the bow to be taut when strung. Smaller bows, for boys or for use against small game, often lack the front strings and special wrappings and have the bowstring considerably shorter so that the bow is more definitely curved when strung.

Although the Kamarakoto bows are very handsome and carefully made, they will not withstand a heavy pull[111] and their accurate and hard-hitting [224] range is only a few meters. The Indian habit, also encouraged by the scarcity and high cost of powder and shot, is not to fire until he is on top of the game and virtually cannot miss.

A full sized arrow may be nearly as long as the bow, 130-190 cm. Arrows of many different types, from mere sharpened sticks up, are used. The most characteristic are the tarau, panachika, supalari, and waibakasi. Of these the tarau (Fig. 16B) is the simplest, as its name (= "simple") implies. It is used for shooting birds and is a reed shaft with a long wooden point. This point, not particularly sharp, is somewhat flattened and has several barbs asymmetrical- [243] ly whittled on its two sides. It is set into the shaft and the joint bound with [237] kurawai thread fastened with beeswax. The string end or nock commonly lacks the plug usual on other arrows and may be formed simply by compressing and binding the reed. This arrow is usually feathered, while the others usually are not. A typical specimen is 130 cm. in length (shorter than most types of arrows) of which the free point measures 14 cm. The center of gravity is 74 1/2 cm. from the butt.

[824] The panachika (Fig. 16D), used for hunting mammals and all sorts of small game, is more complex with a barbed steel point, wooden foreshaft (of

111 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analysis]

murun-yɛ'), long cane (purau-yɛ') shaft, with a short notched hardwood (murun-yɛ') plug or nock at the butt. The three joints are carefully wrapped with thread coated with beeswax. The foreshaft is commonly painted with a reddish gum on which a crude serpentine design may be traced with a finger while it is still wet. A typical specimen is 148 cm. in length: point 4 cm., point-foreshaft wrapping 7 1/2 cm., foreshaft 21 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 4 1/2 cm., shaft 107 1/2 cm., and string-plug and its wrapping 3 1/2 cm. The center of gravity is 92 cm. from the butt end — relatively farther forward than in the purau, which is feathered while the panachika is not.

The supalari (Fig. 16A) is like the panachika but is somewhat stouter, with a much heavier point, also steel but lanceolate and not barbed. This is the big-game arrow. The foreshaft is short but stout and there may be supplementary strings running from the point-foreshaft to the foreshaft-shaft wrappings. A specimen measures 155 cm. in length: point 6 1/2 cm., point-foreshaft wrapping 3 1/2 cm., foreshaft 9 1/2 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 6 cm., shaft 126 1/2 cm., string-plug and wrapping 3 cm. The center of gravity is 100 1/2 cm. from the butt, still farther forward than in the panachika (the foreshaft is shorter but heavier and the point is longer and heavier).

The fourth type of arrow, waibakasi[112] (Fig. 16C) is mechanically the most complex. It has the same parts as the panachika and supalari, with a relatively very long foreshaft and stout shaft, but the point is detachable. The point proper is of steel and shaped as in the panachika, but this is continued in two posterior prongs around which a hollow core is built with kurawai' string and balata. This core slips loosely onto the sharpened end of the wooden foreshaft and is held there by a loop of heavy cord inserted into the wrappings of the hollow core and looped around the foreshaft about 20 cm. posterior to this insertion. In use a light cord several meters long is attached to this loop and its end held in the left hand. The arrow is used for shooting large fish. When the point penetrates the fish, the loop slips off the foreshaft, the arrow floats away, and leaves the point in the fish and attached to the line held by the shooter. A specimen is 173 1/2 cm. long, including the point, 167 1/2 cm. without the point. The point alone is 7 1/2 cm. from tip to base of core, 8 cm. to end of prongs, of which 3 1/2 cm. is the bare unwrapped point. Foreshaft 55 1/2 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 6 cm., shaft 101 1/2 cm., string-plug and wrapping 4 1/2 cm. The center of gravity (with point in place) is 103 cm. from the butt, relatively more posterior than in the panachika or supalari but less so than in the feathered tarau.

The waibakasi is different from anything that I find described among the most nearly neighboring or related Indians and my Taurepán informants had never heard of the object or its name, but it is known among the Makuchi and is widespread in British Guiana (Roth). The other three types of arrows are in general use among neighboring Carib tribes.[113] There are at least three types

[text continues on p. 131]

112, 113 [see footnotes on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

411 [82] For use, a twist of kapok, atsari-kumaːsaʔ, about 45-50 mm. in length, is placed on the dart, leaving about 15 mm. of the blunt end free. The twist is flask-shaped with its greatest diameter nearer the butt end, this diameter being about 12-14 mm., slightly greater than the bore of the blowgun, which is normally about 9-11 mm. The twist of kapok is held in place and in shape by a spiral winding of very fine kurawai fiber. Its function is, of course, to prevent the escape of air around the dart and so to cause the puff of breath to propel it through the tube.

[42] A point on the dart at the posterior end of the poison is placed between two of the sharp teeth of the caribe-jaw and rotated so that it is grooved here and breaks easily.[116] This causes the dart as a whole to break off and drop when it is driven into the prey, leaving the tip with the poison. If a bird is killed and recovered, the tip, called iporosaʔ, is often saved and stuck into the basketwork inside the top of the quiver, as a sort of tally of trophies.

The blowgun is an excellent weapon. The effort of aiming and firing it is slight, once the simple technique of giving the right puff of breath is acquired, and it is extraordinarily hard-hitting and accurate at moderate ranges. Its effective range is about as great as for bow and arrow and its accuracy is [223] much greater, both inherently and in the hands of the Indians. The blowgun is used almost exclusively for shooting birds. The Indians say that the poison 278 411 is not fatal to cold-blooded animals and that while it will kill mammals the amount carried by a blowgun dart is insufficient to kill most game mammals rapidly. The poison is completely harmless when taken by mouth and the small amount in a bird killed with it has no effect whatever. For that matter although a large amount would doubtless kill a man, the Indians say that a blowgun dart cannot, by its poisonous action, permanently harm a human being and that [171] poison was never used in warfare or for executions. This is confirmed by the trustworthy accounts of travelers in other parts of South America and attacks with blowguns by Indians, or murders committed with them, are mere figments of the fiction-writers' imagination.

411 Farabee says that the Makuchis usually wind the outside of the gun with bark or lianas fastened with pitch and Roth also mentions the occasional use of elaborate wrappings. The Kamarakotos never do this. Koch-Grünberg says that the use of the blowgun requires extraordinary skill and no little strength, but this was not our experience. My wife, who is not unusually muscular and can hardly sight a high-powered rifle, was able to handle a blowgun with ease and we both acquired fair accuracy and considerable range with it after ten or twenty practice shots. It is, in fact, an extraordinarily easy weapon to use well, more so than any firearm, and the usual expressions of amazement at the ability of the Indians with the blowgun seem to me to involve extravagant exaggeration.

● 224 Ground game is usually stalked or run with dogs and killed with an im-
ooo provised club, an arrow, or a shotgun. We did not see dogs hunting, but those

116 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 – Analyst]

534 dancing, but a legend suggests its connection with magic, a connection which
535 Izikowitz believes to have been involved in the spread of this instrument. In
773 this legend a maraka appears as a magical instrument the sounding of which
224 causes peccaries, the favorite prey of hunters, to appear. In fact the use of the rattle in dancing is probably connected with this sort of hunting magic, although the connection is not now clearly recognized by the Indians.

534 3. The Kamarakotos make drums (Fig. 68) of various sizes but all are constructed in the same way and all are light and portable so that the player can carry one and dance at the same time. The kettledrum and the tubular (open bottom) drum are unknown, only the two-headed form being used. The body is made of a section of a tree trunk (a white, soft, unidentified wood) of appropriate diameter, with the center hollowed out. A single round hole is
[237] made in the side as an air vent. The drumheads are made of hide, deer, lapa, peccary, etc., — a specimen has deerskin on one end and peccary on the other and apparently any hide of proper size is used indiscriminately. The hair-side is out on the finished drum but the hair is removed from the exposed surface.
[289] The skin is lashed by spiral curagua windings to a liana hoop of proper size to fit snugly on the drum body onto which it is slipped. It is held in place and the drumhead stretched by placing a second hoop distal to it (nearer the end of the drum) on each end and these tightening hoops, which are not fastened to the drumhead or body, are drawn toward each other by a crisscross lashing of heavy cords. Where these cross, at the middle of the side of the drum, a circular lashing of the same cord is fastened and from this a carrying cord projects, which may be made into a loop by tying its end to one of the lashings. The drum is carried in one arm and played with a single stick held in the other hand.

114 The origin and distribution of drums in South America have given rise
171 to extensive discussion, most of which is adequately summarized by Izikowitz.
174 The pre-Columbian distribution cannot now be exactly reconstructed except
534 that it was certainly wide. The kettledrum is the oldest and from it an open-bottomed drum developed in Mexico and Central America. It was formerly supposed that two-headed drums were all post-Columbian but Izikowitz has shown that such drums are indigenous at least in Peru and adjacent regions. On the other hand Izikowitz agrees with most previous students in concluding that the drum was unknown in northeastern South America (Amazonia, the Guianas, Venezuela, and the West Indies, at least) until introduced by Europeans. Only a few students have ventured a contrary opinion, for example, Williams says of the Makuchi word sanbura, "This may perhaps be a native word as the drum must have existed before the advent of Europeans." Roth has pointed out apparently conclusive evidence that the first Europeans, including Columbus himself, found single-membrane drums in use in the West Indies, evidence apparently overlooked by Izikowitz. A few early travelers in the Guianas and in Amazonia also mention what seem to be one-membrane drums

462 women do rather more than half of the heavy carrying, but I have already noted that the men are really ready to assist if needed, and the men do considerable work, such as the very laborious basketwork, that might, a priori, be believed to be woman's work.

[171] The general pattern of this division of labor is typically Carib, but the details vary much from tribe to tribe. For instance planting, here done by the man, is commonly woman's work elsewhere and hammocks, here made by women, are often made by men elsewhere.

Legal Concepts

Property.

421 The Indians are not capitalists in that they have no permanent title to real property, no personal command of the means of production, no accumulated or hereditary wealth, and no property right in the labor of others. At the same time they have a very real and lively sense of personal property and in other ways also their society is decidedly not communistic. In general what an individual makes or uses is his. When he ceases to use it, it reverts to the public domain.

423 Thus it could be said that the land, in general, belongs to the tribe in common, or that it belongs to no one, but when a man clears a conuco or builds a house on a portion of land, that land is his. No one has the right to use it (or even to enter it against his wishes) as long as he is in occupation, and its products are exclusively his, free of any obligation to share or divide them. When he leaves it, however, he cannot transfer title to it. It reverts to commons and any comer can occupy it or enjoy its fruits and use. The same is true of structures erected on the land.

592 Such property may be said to belong to the household group or to the
423 to›-esa? as its leader and representative. Another very important special case
226 of such ownership is that of fishing rights. According to custom, which of course is the equivalent of uncodified law, a household established on or near a stream owns the fishing rights on that stream from its dwelling downstream as far as the next habitation. These rights are very rigidly maintained. Even a fish killed upstream is lost to the killer if it floats below the next household before being gathered. Of course several or many households do commonly unite in poisoning a given stretch of water and all share in the results, but this
[685] is only by invitation of the household owning the right to that water. Violation
[221] of these rights is among the most serious offenses known to the Indians, as is suggested by the fact that the last bloody war, of which they retain vivid but
[224] confused memories, is said to have arisen from such a violation. There seems, on the other hand, to be no proprietorship of hunting rights.

754 [797] [128] and the boy returned, took to his hammock, developed a high fever, and was at death's door when he was finally saved by the priest's confessing his fault to the boy and withdrawing the kanaima influence. I personally did not witness such a case, but some of the cases of illness related to me by the Indians appeared to involve no possible physical cause and the statements of reliable non-Indian witnesses, traveling both among the Kamarakotos and among several allied tribes, leave no doubt that such cases do really occur.[175]

Other Medical and Similar Magic.

755 Although the piache is the magician and the physician, the use of magic is not entirely confined to him. There are some spells, not the exclusive property of the piache, that can be recited by the victim and by his friends, although these apparently are not considered really effective in severe cases or cases surely involving a kanaima. Koch-Grünberg gives the texts of several such spells from the Taurepáne. Some of them are related to birth, puberty, and other critical physical events and they constitute a simple sort of medical ceremonial which has magical implications but which cannot really be called religious. The idea of invocation of supernatural beings, an essentially religious aspect that is present in the activities of the piaches, is very attenuated or quite absent in these.

755 535 There are also medical dances which are analogous to these simpler spells and are called generically eremba. The most common is the okõyima-eremba, "big snake medicine-dance," which is effective against real bites and against ulcers, which are theoretically believed to be bites. No special costume is worn except bead necklaces and unlike social dances the men and women dance in separate groups. The dance begins at dusk and continues until the following dawn.

756 535 There is also a piache's dance, called mari, which is danced by everyone but led by a piache who sings and shouts. I could learn of no special religious significance for this dance but its ascription to the piache (whereas ordinary social dances are led by the cacique or any competent to^{3}-esa^{3}) suggests that it must have had some such particular significance originally.

535 [789] [533] [224] It is probable that most dances once had some magic significance if they did not definitely arise as magic or religious ceremonials. Thus the parichara songs given elsewhere are in effect quite typical hunting spells. The present-day Kamarakotos, however, informed me that the dances (excepting the eremba, of course) have for them absolutely no utilitarian, magical, or religious significance and that they are danced solely for pleasure. Certainly they are not treated as anything mystical and show no trace of true ritualism.

224 [789] Aside from medicine, magic does not figure to any great extent in Kamarakoto life but there is some hunting magic. Typical hunting magic with a

[175] [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 - Analysis]

Typical hunting magic with a
224 maraka and a song-spell appears in the Legend of Maichak on another page
[273] (the episode of the second magic implement, stolen by Maichak from an armadillo). It is reasonable to assume that this represents magic once really used by mortals, but it is merely inherited by the Kamarakotos as part of the story and is not used by them. They do employ two very curious but typically Carib
[824] magic means of increasing proficiency in hunting. One of these is to insert a cord of twisted moriche fibers into one nostril and to pull it out through the
[304] mouth. The other is to scarify the skin of the arms and then to rub in a crushed
[824] plant, called kumi, which is sometimes especially grown for this purpose. Our hunters ruefully admitted that none of the Kamarakoto hunting magic is really very effective.

General Religious Ideas.

773 Most of the myths, including the several that together make up the story of Maichak as given in this report, abound in unnatural and supernatural events and beings. To this extent, as well as to the extent that they embody explanations of natural phenomena and of creation, they include ideas usually related to religion. It would, however, be misleading to suppose that they form or assume the existence of any coherent or fixed body of religious doctrine. They are simply stories, fairy tales if one wishes, in which the non-natural is taken for granted.

774 There is firm belief in the existence of spirits, mostly inimical, of whom Piaima is typical and is the most important. Piaima and the kanaimaton are still very much in the Indians' minds. Various other spirits are believed to exist but are seldom thought of and few of the Indians can even name any of them.
771 Such simple theology as the tribe may have possessed seems largely to have
[178] broken down and to have been forgotten except as it has a practical bearing on
[282] their lives, which means except as it relates to illness and misfortune. Prayer,
[287] or any form of communication with the supernatural, seems to be unknown except as already suggested for the piaches.

In this rudimentary and probably degenerate system, misfortune is adequately explained by kanaima. Evil and sin do not appear to be considered supernatural or unnatural and there is no evident moral or ethical relationship of religion to their lives, which undoubtedly goes far to explain (or at least is correlated with) their carefree, happy, and, in a sense, sinless lives. They do not have any burden of original sin to bear. Felicity is considered a normal state for which no thanks are due to powers on high. I could not learn that they have any planting or harvest gods or ceremonies, which seems curious in an agricultural people.

775 No clear-cut statement of indigenous doctrine regarding the soul and life after death could be obtained, the usual statement being that "we don't know